

Message Text

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USNATO FOR SCOWCROFT, SONNENFELDT, EAGLEBURGER, LODAL

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, US, UR, OEXD

SUBJ: NUCLEAR TEST BAN TECHNICAL TALKS: JUNE 26 PLENARY

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: MOROKHOV OPENED JUNE 26 PLENARY WITH SUMMATION OF SOVIET UNDERSTANDING OF CURRENT STATUS OF TALKS ON EVE OF "WORKING RECESS." HE REAFFIRMED FAMILIAR SOVIET POSITIONS INCLUDING QUOTA PROPOSAL AND VIEW THAT PNE'S SHOULD NOT BE SUBJECT TO YIELD LIMITATIONS PROVIDED IN AGREEMENT. HE ALSO STRESSED SOVIET DESIRE TO INCORPORATE "OBLIGATION" IN TTB AGREEMENT TO WORK TOWARD COMPLETE BAN ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS. AMBASSADOR RESPONDED WITH ANALOGOUS STATEMENT REITERATING IMPORTANCE U.S. ATTACHES TO VERIFICATION AND NOTING THAT MAJOR UNRESOLVED PROBLEM OF DATA EXCHANGE REMAINS QUESTION OF YIELD OF PAST TESTS. HE RESTATED U.S. OPPOSITION TO QUOTA AND FIRM BELIEF THAT PNE'S SHOULD BE SUBJECT TO SAME YIELD AND VERIFICATION CONSTRAINTS AS WEAPONS TESTS. TALKS FORMALLY RECESSED WITH U.S. PRESENTATION OF GIFTS (MOUNTED TRINITITE SAMPLES) AND SOVIET BON VOYAGE TOAST. END SUMMARY

2. MOROKHOV'S SUMMATION OF RESULTS OF TALKS NOTED BUSINESSLIKE, CONSTRUCTIVE NATURE OF TALKS AND WELCOMED COMMON UNDERSTANDING REACHED ON SEVERAL IMPORTANT QUESTIONS. AMONG THESE WERE AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE TO USE YIELD CRITERION FOR STATING THRESHOLD, TO USE NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION AND

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TO CONDUCT UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS AT SITES WHOSE

LOCATION WOULD BE ANNOUNCED.

3. HE RECALLED THAT SOVIET DELEGATION HAD SOUGHT TO MEET U.S. POSITION ON VERIFICATION BY EXPRESSING WILLINGNESS UPON CONCLUSION OF AN AGREEMENT TO EXCHANGE DATA CONCERNING TEST SITES ON BASIS OF STRICT RECIPROCITY. SUCH DATA MUST BE "REASONABLE" IN SCOPE AND MUST BE STRICTLY CONSISTENT WITH PURPOSES OF AGREEMENT.

4. MOROKHOV SAID HE AGREED THAT TWO SIDES HAD NOW REACHED A POINT WHEN JOINT DRAFT AGREEMENT COULD BE WORKED OUT FOR SUBMISSION AD REFERENDUM TO GOVERNMENTS. SOVIET DELEGATION HAD, IN SUBMITTING ITS OWN DRAFT, PROCEEDED FROM DESIRE TO HAVE EFFECTIVE AND MEANINGFUL AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD SERVE AIM OF CURBING NUCLEAR ARMS RACE.

5. MOROKHOV EXPLAINED THAT IT WAS FOR THIS PURPOSE THAT SOVIETS HAD PROPOSED QUANTITATIVE LIMITS (QUOTA) AND THE LOWER THRESHOLD. HE STATED THAT SOVIET SIDE FOUND "UNACCEPTABLE" THE U.S. POSITION WHICH WOULD EXCLUDE THE ANNUAL QUOTA.

6. MOROKHOV WENT ON TO REITERATE SOVIET POSITION CONCERNING PNE'S. HE SAID SOVIETS "FIRMLY BELIEVE" AGREEMENT SHOULD NOT COVER SUCH EXPLOSIONS.

7. MOROKHOV SAID SOVIETS ARE ANXIOUS TO ACHIEVE A COMPLETE BAN ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS, AND BELIEVED THIS SHOULD BE EXPRESSED AS A CLEAR-CUT OBLIGATION IN AN AGREEMENT. HE BRIEFLY NOTED THAT SOVIETS CONTINUE TO ADHERE TO THEIR KNOWN POSITIONS ON DATE OF ENTRY INTO FORCE, DURATION OF AGREEMENT, THIRD-COUNTRY ACCESSION AND OTHER ISSUES.

8. IN CONCLUSION, MOROKHOV CITED BREZHNEV'S JUNE 14 SPEECH STATING SOVIET READINESS TO AGREE WITH U.S. ON LIMITING UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS RIGHT UP TO A COMPLETE BAN WITHIN AN AGREED TIME. HE NOTED IMPORTANCE OF FORTHCOMING SUMMIT AND SAID "WORKING RECESS" WOULD BE DECLARED AT END OF TODAY'S PLENARY. HE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT SUBSEQUENT WORK ON ASSIGNED TASK WOULD PROCEED IN SAME SPIRIT OF CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORT TO IDENTIFY AND EXPAND COMMON GROUND, IN ACCORDANCE WITH PRINCIPLE OF EQUAL SECURITY FOR BOTH SIDES.

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9. AMBASSADOR SAID HE, TOO, WISHED TO SUM UP WORK OF PAST FOUR WEEKS. HE NOTED THAT TWO DELEGATIONS HAD BEEN ENGAGED PRIMARILY IN IDENTIFYING AND REFINING TECHNICAL CONDITIONS WHICH COULD LEAD TO POSSIBLE AGREEMENT ON UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR TESTING. HE EXPRESSED BELIEF THAT REAL PROGRESS HAD BEEN ACHIEVED IN THIS DIRECTION. TWO SIDES HAD REACHED MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING THAT VERIFICATION - REGARDLESS OF UNITS IN WHICH

THRESHOLD IS MEASURED -- WOULD BE ACCOMPLISHED PRINCIPALLY BY SEISMIC MEANS. THIS HAS BEEN IMPORTANT QUESTION, BECAUSE WITHOUT TECHNICAL GROUNDWORK POLITICAL LEADERS COULD NOT HAVE CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH POSSIBLE AGREEMENT COULD BE VERIFIED. THIS IS ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENT AND THERE ARE NO SHORTCUTS IN SATISFYING IT.

10. AMBASSADOR SAID NOT IMPORTANT CONCRETE ACHIEVEMENT OF TALKS IF DRAFT PROTOCOL ON DATA REQUIREMENTS FOR VERIFICATION. U.S. SIDE WAS NOT FULLY SATISFIED WITH PROTOCOL, AND MUCH WORK REMAINS TO BE DONE. HOWEVER, WE HAD MADE A GOOD START, IN PARTICULAR IN ESTABLISHING PRINCIPLE THAT TWO COUNTRIES PREPARED TO EXCHANGE ON FULLY RECIPROCAL BASIS INFORMATION WHICH WOULD FACILITATE VERIFICATION. TWO SIDES HAD AGREED THAT NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTING WOULD BE CONFINED TO SPECIFIED TEST SITES, AND THAT DATA WOULD BE EXCHANGED ON THEIR LOCATION AND RELEVANT GEOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS. HOWEVER, THERE IS NOT YET AGREEMENT ON ANOTHER ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENT, I.E., DATA ON YIELDS OF PAST TEST FOR PURPOSE OF ESTABLISHING YIELD-MAGNITUDE RELATIONSHIP NECESSARY FOR VERIFICATION OF YIELD THRESHOLD.

11. AMBASSADOR EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT TWO SIDES COULD, IN SAME SPIRIT OF COOPERATION THAT HAS PREVAILED THUS FAR, RESOLVE REMAINING DATA EXCHANGE ISSUES.

12. REFERRING TO SOVIET DRAFT AGREEMENT, AMBASSADOR SAID WE FOUND SOME ELEMENTS VERY CONSTRUCTIVE, SUCH AS CONCEPT OF YIELD THRESHOLD (PROVIDED VERIFICATION REQUIREMENTS ARE MET). OTHER ASPECTS ARE LESS ACCEPTABLE. FOR EXAMPLE, WE BELIEVE QUOTA PROPOSAL WOULD POSE SERIOUS PROBLEMS OF VERIFICATION AND WOULD NOT HAVE FAVORABLE IMPACT ON WORLD OPINION.

13. AMBASSADOR ALSO ASKED SOVIET SIDE TO RECONSIDER ITS POSITION
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THAT PNE'S SHOULD BE DEALT WITH OUTSIDE FRAMEWORK OF AGREEMENT. HE RECALLED THAT WE HAD POINTED OUT ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS THAT PNE'S SHOULD BE SUBJECT TO SAME YIELD AND VERIFICATION CONSTRAINTS AS EXPLOSIONS CONDUCTED ON NUCLEAR WEAPON TEST SITES.

14. AMBASSADOR CONCLUDED BY NOTING SIGNIFICANCE OF THESE TALKS IN CONTRIBUTING TO STRENGTHENING OF RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES AND EXPRESSING HOPE THAT FORTHCOMING SUMMIT MEETING WOULD PROVE FRUITFUL IN SPECIFIC AREA OF TALKS AS WELL AS IN FULL RANGE OF OUTSTANDING ISSUES. HE GAVE FIVE MEMBERS OF SOVIET DELEGATION (REPRESENTING MAJOR ORGANIZATIONAL COMPONENTS) GIFT OF TRINITITE FROM FIRST ATOMIC EXPLOSION AT ALAMOGORDO IN 1945, PROVIDED GRACIOUSLY BY LOS ALAMOS LABORATORY.

15. MOROKHOV THANKED U.S. DELEGATION FOR GIFTS AND GAVE THE
SIGNAL FOR BRANDY TO BE BROUGHT TO NEGOTIATING TABLE. HE
OFFERED FAREWELL TOAST, TO WHICH AMBASSADOR RESPONDED WITH
TOAST TO SOVIET DELEGATION AND SUCCESS OF FORTHCOMING MEETING
BETWEEN LEADERS OF TWO COUNTRIES. TALKS WERE RECESSED UNTIL
FURTHER NOTICE.
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